1:Heckewelder M-5 (ca. 1800)1819
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"among us; you are to return to that former happy
"state, in which we lived in peace and plenty, before
"these strangers came to disturb us, and above all, you
"must abstain from drinking their deadly *beson*, which
"they have forced upon us, for the sake of increasing
"their gains and diminishing our numbers. Then will
"the great Spirit give success to our arms; then he will
"give us strength to conquer our enemies, to drive them
"from hence, and recover the passage to the heavenly
"regions which they have taken from us."

Such was in general the substance of his discourses. After having dilated more or less on the various topics which I have mentioned, he commonly concluded in this manner: "And now, my friends, in order that what I "have told you may remain firmly impressed on your "minds, and to refresh your memories from time to time, "I advise you to preserve, in every family, at least, "such a book or writing as this, which I will finish off "for you, provided you bring me the price, which is only "one buck-skin or two doe-skins a piece."* The price was of course bought, and the book purchased. In some of those maps, the figure of a deer or turkey, or both, was placed in the heavenly regions, and also in the dreary region of the evil spirit; the former, however, appeared fat and plump, while the latter seemed to have nothing but skin and bones.

I was also well acquainted with another noted preacher, named *Wangomend*, who was of the Monsey tribe. He began to preach in the year 1766, much in the same manner as the one I have just mentioned. When Mr. Zeisberger first came to *Goschgoschink* town, on the Allegheny river, this Indian prophet became one of his hearers, but finding that the Missionary's doctrine did not agree with his own, he became his enemy. This man also pretended that his call as a preacher was not of his own choice, but that he had been moved to it by

* Of the value of one dollar.

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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With the white walnut bark, [145]

used externally and internally, they effect many cures. Laid upon flesh wounds this relieves pain at once, prevents swelling and accelerates healing. Applied externally in case of tooth-ache, head-ache or pain in the limbs, this brings speedy relief.

Beyond question there are many roots and herbs not found in Europe; perhaps it would be safe to say that this is true of most here found, but as I am no authority in this subject and know no names, except perhaps the Indian designations, I will add nothing further about roots and herbs. Doubtless, there are books from which one might get more information than it is in my power to give.

The following quadrupeds are to be found along the Ohio: In the first place, there are the deer,[146] whose skins are much used in barter and trade by the Indians. Their horns are not straight, but bent toward each other and have prongs. From May until September they are red, after that they lose the red hair and their hide is covered with long, gray hair, which is their winter coat. At about the beginning of the year they shed their horns; new ones grow in spring. These are at first and until they attain their full size, covered with a thin skin, which peels off when the horns harden. The tail is about a foot long and stands up straight when they run. As the under side of the tail is white it is possible to see them running at a great distance. The young are born in June or about that time, are red, spotted with white, until in the fall when they become gray. Deer have young each spring, sometimes two. As, however, they are hunted so persistently at the call of trade, their numbers diminish with each year, even though the forests are of vast extent, for the hunters are many. A large buckskin is valued at a Spanish dollar; two doeskins are regarded as equal in value to one buckskin.[147]

The bear is quite black, has short ears, a thick head and quite a sharp snout.[148] It has but a very short tail and great strong claws on his feet. It can easily climb the trees and bring down chestnuts and acorns. This is done, however, only when these are not ripe and do not, therefore, fall down. They generally break off the branches, throw them down and then climb

3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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treaties that have been made with the governors of the provinces and other documents, although they are not able to read. These constitute the archives, where all messages and reports are kept. With each message or speech there are one or more strings or belts of wampum. These, with the message or speech after the latter have been properly considered and answered, are deposited in the archives.[260] In connection with such a message there may be a string or belt to each point, for as soon as the deliverer of a message has finished with a point he gives over a string or belt to the chief, gets out another and continues to speak until his message has been fully delivered when he announces that he has done. If the strings and belts are handed about from one to another in the council this is an indication that the message is being favorably received. It may happen, however, that the chief does not take the belt into his hands but pushes it to one side with a stick, in which case no one will touch it. The messenger who has brought it must in this case take it back. This signifies that his message does not find approbation and it is accounted a disgrace. Such a rejected belt may be a war belt summoning the people to war, or it may be a belt admonishing them to maintain peace, or something else that is not agreeable may be required.

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[434]
The wampum which Europeans make and barter to the Indians is made of sea-mussel shells. One variety is quite white, the other dark violet, a quarter of an inch in length, an eighth of an inch in thickness and round. A hole is bored lengthwise through each shell, large enough to admit a heavy cord. They are strung like beads. Wampum constitutes the money of the Indians. Two hundred shells cost a buck hide, or a Spanish dollar.[261] Before the white people came they had no such wampum for want of proper instruments to make it.[262] The white are a little less in value than the dark.

[435]

Strings are made of the beads that have been strung as described. Two, four or six placed side by side and properly fastened form a string. A string is usually half a yard long, sometimes longer. Upon delivery of a string a long speech may be made and much said upon the subject under consideration.

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3:Zeisberger M-5 (1767-1780)1910
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110. *Podophyllum peltatum* L., the root of which is still a staple medicinal herb. 137

110a. *Quercus alba* L., the white oak.

110b. *Quercus velutina* Lam., the black or quercitron oak.

110c. *Quercus rubra* L., red oak.

110d. *Quercus falcata* Michx., Spanish oak.

110e. *Quercus palustris* Muench., the swamp Spanish or pinoak.

111. Doubtless more than three!

112. *Fraxinus americana* L., is the most common one, though other species occur in the region.

113. *Fagus grandifolia* Ehrh. There is but one beech though the wood in some is quite different in color from that of others.

114. *Sassafras variifolium* (Salisb.)

115. *Liriodendron tulipifera* L., the tulip tree, commonly called poplar.

116. *Castanea dentata* (Marsh).

117. *Tilia americana* L., basswood or linden.

118. *Acer saccharinum* L., the silver maple is most abundant near the water, though *Acer saccharum* Marsh, the sugar maple, and var. *nigrum* (Mx) also occur in the bottom lands.

119. *Carpinus caroliniana* Walt., the American hornbeam, is usually known as water beech but this description evidently refers to the sycamore, *Platanus occidentalis* L., sometimes called water beech. There is no other reference which could apply to the sycamore and it was then as now, a conspicuous tree of the river banks.

120. *Crataegus* species (?) Several of the 65(!) species accepted by the seventh edition of Gray's *Manual* occur here.

121. *Pyrus coronaria* L., and *Pyrus angustifolia* Ait.

122. *Fraxinus nigra* Marsh., the black ash.

123. *Gleditsia triacanthos* L.

124. *Cornus florida* L.

125. The bark of *Cinchona succirubra* and other species of *Cinchona* from which quinine is prepared. The Cinchonas grow wild in the Andes Mountains.

126. *Juniperus virginiana* L.

127. *Picea mariana* (Mill.) Black or log spruce.

128. *Pinus rigida* Mill. Pitch pine.

129. *Pinus strobus* L. White pine.

130. *Abies balsamea* (L.)

131. *Pinus pungens* Lamb, the table mountain pine, presumably.

132. *Ulmus americana* L., and V. *racemosa* Thomas.

133. *Betula nigra* L., the river birch.

134. *Populus tremuloides* Michx., the American aspen.

135. *Cladrastis lutea* (Michx.).

136. Loskiel records that Indians sold oil to the whites "at four guineas a quart." *History*, 118. 435

8: Lindeström T-5 (1654-1655) 1925
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them with the merchandise of the Christians, one can make an excessively large gain and profit in trading with the savages. Now there is a value on the merchandise of the savages as follows: 1 beaver [skin] is valued according to size from 7 to 8 florins in sewan (thus the money of the savages is called, concerning the manufacture and nature of which money we shall be informed in the following chapter). But the trade with the money of the savages is mostly reckoned in Holland florins and *styvers*, 1 Holland florin being 20 *styvers*.

An otter [skin] is valued at 4 to 6 florins, according to the number of silver hairs it has. A lynx [skin is valued at] 4 florins; fisher, 24 *styvers;* raccoon, 1 florin; mink, 1 florin; wild-cat, 10 *styvers;* elk-skin, 6 to 9 florins; bear-hides, pitch black, looking like gluttons,[7] 3 to 4 florins; a wolf-skin, 2 to 3 florins; a wolf-lynx, 6 to 9 florins; a 36-checkered fox-skin, 1 florin; a lion-skin, 6 florins; deer-skin, 24 *styvers;* muskrat-skin, 1 florin, and so on. [A] quilt of Turkey feathers [is worth] 1 ell of white *sewan*, a quilt of painted feathers, 2 ells of white sewan, or 1 ell of blue *sewan*. Indeed the savages understand how to value their pelts, but the beavers and otters with silver hairs, that these should be so valuable, as compared to the others, that they have no knowledge of. Otherwise in the case of the elk-skins [80] and other skins the savages indeed sell according to their sizes and heaviness, but they know nothing of weight.[8] This valuation is only an approxima-

[7] *Beendes uth som ierfvar*, the glutton, wolverine or carcajou.
[8] That is: they have no scales by which they can compute the exact weight of articles

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tion, but one gives more or less for the skins, according to their size or quality.

Maize, beans and fruits are sold by means of bags, nor [do they] know of any definite measure. But birds [they sell as follows]: a turkey, for 4 *styvers;* swan, for 6 *styvers;* goose, for 4 *styvers;* a wood-grouse, for 4 *styvers;* a black-grouse, for 2 *styvers;* a duck, for 2 *styvers;* a partridge, for 2 *styvers;* a hazel-grouse, for 1 *styver;* a pigeon, for 1 *styver, etc. Sic ulterius,* about. A mat [is sold for] 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins; bags for 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6 florins, according to their size and quality, as well as according to their beauty and skill of workmanship.

But if these, often mentioned savage merchandise, are bought with the goods of the Christians, then these[9] are: red and blue Holland frieze an ell in breadth, guns, powder, lead, copper and brass kettles, axes, hoes, picks, spades, shovels, glass beads (of all colors, large and small), awls, bodkins, small common scissors, knives, small mirrors, needles and such things; and from these things, one can have a very large profit, as has been said, for our goods are placed high enough [in price] to the savages. But the savages really do not understand this trade, for they hold frieze in as high esteem as the finest scarlet.

The savage really does not buy more than an ell's length at the time, for he does not need more in the piece, which he wraps around himself. If it is a piece of cloth to hide his nakedness with, then he takes an ell for it, [and] they really do not

[9] The goods of the Christians.

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know of any other measure than an ell's length at the time, for he needs no more in the piece he wraps around himself.

When the Christians measure the frieze for the savage, they measure it for the savage on the edge, the savage taking hold of a corner of the frieze and the Christians on the edge, whereupon they pull the hardest they are able, stretching thus the ell for the savage, so that he for three ells barely gets more than two; which the savage thinks should be thus, and does not understand himself cheated in this.

[135] Tobacco is worth 2 *styvers* a pound.

Velvet, silk, broadcloth, apple juice[10] and all such things which one may want, come to New Sweden with ships from Virginia, New Holland, New England, the Carribean Islands, and from many other places; which merchandise the Swedes buy through the exchange of pelts and the money of the savages. Linen is very expensive there.[11]

[80] The savages also allow themselves to be greatly cheated in the sale of powder. The savage knows of no other measure than the handful.[12] When the Christians measure the powder with the hand for the savage he draws his hand together that the savage hardly gets more than ½ handful for a whole, and thus the savage is cheated, for he has in this no better understanding.

Valuations of the merchandise of the Christians is as follows: an ell of frieze [is valued at] 9 florins, one handful of powder, 3 florins. According to this measurement and valuation, 1 ell of

[10] Apple Cider.
[11] As it was bought from the English and Dutch.
[12] *Inn medh göpen. Göpen*, handful, gripe, gowpen.

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Holland frieze will cost the savage 1 *riksdaler* and 42 *öre* silver money and ½ handful of powder 1 *riksdaler* and 12 *öre* silver money, at 6 *daler* silver money apiece. One axe is worth 3 florins; a hoe, 3 florins; a pick, 3 florins; a shovel, 3 florins; a bodkin, 1 florin; a small common pair of scissors, 3 florins; a knife, 1 or 2 florins; a small mirror, which may cost 2 or 3 *öre* copper money in Stockholm, [sells for] 1 florin; 1 pin,[13] 1 florin; a common sewing needle, 1 florin; glass beads, [a string] 3 times around the arm, 1 florin, etc. The aforesaid small wares are placed high enough for the savage [in exchange] for his pelts, but if the trade is done in the money of the savages, then it will cost the Christians more.

Formerly it was indeed forbidden, and agreed[14] among the Christian nations, that no guns, powder or lead should be sold to the savages; but after the English in Virginia had broken the law and first began to sell guns to the savages (which they have raised in value according to their quality, the cheapest [they sold] at 10 beaver [skins] and up to 20 beaver [skins] apiece for the dearest, so that one gun which is of some value, may cost the savages over 40, 50 and 60 *riksdaler*, at 6 *daler* silver money), therefore the Swedes began to sell powder and lead for them.[15] So much for the mutual trade of the Christians and the savages.

[13] *En stammendål*, perhaps a large pin with a head (often of glass).

[14] *Förbudit och afsagt*, perhaps forbidden and renounced.

[15] For the guns. The settlers in the various colonies accused each other of selling firearms to the natives against the law of nations, but it was a case of the pot calling the pan black. They all sold what they could and made profits in any way they were able.

[p. 228 is blank]

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¶36 a thick straw, and the length in proportion to their thickness; larger or smaller, they are not used. [They are] very smooth and even at the ends. There is also a streak on them like copper color, which the kernel by nature contains, from which the stones are made; namely of the kernel which runs whirl-like inside of the whooping cough bowls, which the wet nurses use to scrape off and give the little children for whooping cough, which is found in great abundance in New Sweden, both white, black and red.[5] Of this mentioned kernel [321] the savages turn and grind these stones and money, and special savages are designated and appointed for this, who make this money, and one person is not able to make more than about 6 to 8 *styvers* a day.[6]

● ¶35 In valuing these moneys we also count an ell of red, black-blue sewan for 1 ducat and 1 ell white sewan for one *riksdaler*. But otherwise they are mostly reckoned in Dutch florins and *styvers*, as stated above, one florin at 20 *styvers*.[7] These[8] moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass, cut and drilled through at their edges.[9] When the money through old use has been

[5] A nature medicine based on the superstitious belief that these scrapings will "cure the cough."

[6] Cf. Hodge, *Handbook*, II, 905.

[7] See Johnson, *Swedish Settlements*, I, 41.

[8] Lindeström has *hucilke*, which.

[9] *Uthi sijne kanter afskiärande och genomdrillande.* The passage is obscure. *Afskiärande* and *genomdrillande* are present participles and perhaps Lindeström means *af skärande och genom drillande*, in which case the passage would read: These moneys are as well made as any glass cutter could cut them of glass at the edges, through cutting and drilling.

In this connection Williams says: "Before they had awle blades from Europe, they made shift to bore this their shell money with stones." *Key*, 130.

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worn at the edges, that they do not, like glass, fall close together[10] on the cord, then the savages will not accept them for good; wherefore he tests them thus, that he takes the whole cord on which the money is threaded and strokes them over his nose. If nothing obstructs the nose,[11] but glides over like smooth glass, then he accepts the money as good. But if something offers obstruction, he rejects them. Now all the money is not equally large and thick, but some larger and some smaller, and is, in buying, variously collected, especially when one exchanges and trades in *styver* quantities; wherefore the one who owns them must closely see to it, that in threading them again he arranges those [together] which are able to neatly and well correlate on the cord, in case he wants to get rid of them.[12] 435 ●

When we want to count them by *styvers* by means of the thumb, which is indeed the manner of the savages, we have for this a certain measure from the end of the thumb nail to the first joint of the thumb. Thus the money is divided and separated according to this [method], that on this length go exactly 6 stones [of] white [sewan], that is as much as one *styver* or one *öre* silver money, and 6 stones [of] red or black-blue [sewan which], are worth 2 *styvers* or 2 *öre* silver money. 436 [204]

The money hanks the Christians carry in bags.[13] When he[14], wishes to trade and has counted the

[10] *Falla tätt tillhopa.*
[11] *Tager då inthet emoth näsan.* The meaning is: if no obstruction is felt as the money passes over the nose, etc.
[12] In case he is to be able to use them in trading.
[13] *byxsäckier*, poke, pocket, bag.
[14] Lindeström uses the singular, *han*.

[750 (c)]

291 who speak our language and have the man-
[191] ners and address of gentlemen. Some of the
old men and some of the young men had on
colored calico frock coats of the most gaudy
[302] colors. Many had vermilion on their faces,
thus giving them a low appearance, and I
saw a few girls with spots of it in their
[301] cheeks. One man I saw with a silver orna-
ment in his nose, which covered part of his
mouth. Many of the men wore leggings with
a wide side projection, ornamented, and
the breech cloth, over which they wore a
vest or shirt, and perhaps one of the frock
coats of calico above named, with head
bands of bead work over the shoulder and
meeting in a large bead work pocket on the
right hand side. As a body I should think
the men inferior to the women.

454 The Delawares have a million and up-
648 wards in the national treasury at five per
cent interest. Their regular annuity is
[659] $50,000. The present is a part of two pay-
ments, I understand, and is larger than
usual. There were several stores full of
443 goods, and a great many stands out in the
open air with the protection of canvas. The
492 great show of all was in saddles and bridles,
of which I presume I saw of saddles alone
[435] 150; the price ranges from $15 to 50 dol-
lars, the ordinary being $22 to $25. They
are the Mexican saddle, made at Westport,
Mo., and the kind usually used in Kansas
and this part of the west. It has a high pom-
mel, wooden stirrups usually, which are
easier than metal for long journeys, and a
well stuffed and quilted seat, with a high
rear plate. They are far superior to our
eastern saddle for riding.

439 The assortment of goods was creditable
to the good sense of the Delawares, as the
supply was adapted to the demand. Grains
of all kinds, tin wares of all kinds and at
reasonable prices, in fact they could not